

**SOCIALISM**  
Is the public ownership and democratic operation of all utilities, services and enterprises that are public in their nature.

MURRAY E. KING, Managing Editor

Published Weekly by the Socialist Party of America at 2653 Washington Blvd. Phone Seeley 0940.

Vol. 8—No. 40

EUGENE V. DEBS, Founder

CHICAGO, OCTOBER 1, 1927

Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 7, 1926, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., Under the Act of March 3, 1879.

**OUR PURPOSE**  
Is to teach Socialism and organize the people politically and industrially to bring Socialism.

WILLIAM H. HENRY, Business Manager

Price Five Cents.

# American Appeal

One Dollar a Year  
50 Cents 6 Months

Foreign Rates  
\$1.50 a Year

2 Cents Per Copy  
for Bundles

## Indianapolis and Philadelphia Reveal Real Republican Party

The conviction of Mayor L. Duval of Indianapolis of the crime of bartering public offices for cash and promise of political support gives the American public the first authentic glimpse of a condition of political corruption almost unbelievable in its rottenness, treachery and treason to the people.

Some of the facts brought out by the trial and verdict are here given.

John L. Duval, Republican candidate for mayor of Indianapolis, was paid \$14,500 and given promises of secret political support by William H. Arnitage, saloon keeper and gambler, political boss and purveyor of contracts for city improvements for private profit.

One of the considerations offered by the prospective mayor for this money was the appointment of two members of the board of public works and the city engineer named by Arnitage. These appointments would give Arnitage control of the dispensation of contracts for public improvements. They would give him access to the city treasury. They would open the way to the wholesale looting of Indianapolis by as venal and unscrupulous band of pirates as ever scuttled a ship.

John L. Duval sold the Indianapolis city treasury to bootleggers, gamblers and ward heelers for \$14,500 and a chance to become mayor of the city.

When he became mayor he discovered that he could not deliver the goods. He tried to pacify his fellow bandits and conspirators by returning the money. But he couldn't go straight even in this little elementary act of "safety first." He couldn't refrain from stealing from the other thieves \$2,500, which led to his downfall.

Despite the fact that Judge C. C. Shirley tried to confine the evidence to this one charge and deal, evidence leaked out of widespread rottenness and corruption almost beyond belief.

Members of the Ku Klux Klan, including a clergyman testified that Duval promised to deliver to the Klan 85 per cent of the appointments to city offices and that at a Klan meeting in a church, with upraised hand he took solemn oath to this effect, and swore to carry out the Klan program. He sold in secret the rights of the citizens of Indianapolis to the Klan. He secretly delivered the people into the hands of a political monopoly controlled by outlaws, savagery and bigotry.

While he was selling the city treasury to professional looters, he was attempting to win the vote of the honest people by denouncing these looters in public.

While he was binding himself as a secret Klan member by solemn oath to obligations that would shut the people out from participation in their own government, he was attempting to win these betrayed and victimized people to his support by publicly proclaiming himself the champion of popular government. Essential dishonesty, treachery and treason cannot go further than this.

This exposure of one of the Republican and Klan politicians of Indiana, is only a beginning of revelations started by the convicted rapist and former head of the Ku Klux Klan, O. C. Stephenson. Governor Jackson's turn is to come next. Other high "public servants" will be tried after that. Already practically every high politician in Indiana and representative of Indiana in Congress and the Senate has become a suspicious character.

The self advertised patriot, Puritan, Senator Watson, and Senator Robinson have not succeeded in clearing themselves from strong and honest suspicions of trying to influence the supreme court of Indiana in case of the Dr. Shumaker head of the Anti-Saloon League, who was convicted of contempt by that court. The fact that Senator Watson knowing fully of the rottenness and lawlessness of the Klan, accepted its political support, has been fully demonstrated. He would rather be senator than be right. His latest expression throws startling light on the caliber of this man. A few days ago he boasted with visible satisfaction that the Indiana would go Republican despite the Ku Klux Klan revelations.

This is a most damning admission of the general character of the Republican Party and of the average Republican voters. Senator Watson is sure that anything can be done by Republican politicians, no matter how venal and treacherous and the Republican voters will go right on supporting their crooked and treacherous leaders. The tragical thing about this statement is that it is literally true. Whatever liberty and democracy survives in this country; whatever public integrity remains, is threatened by this appalling fact.

This condition is not confined to Indiana. Indiana and a few other states merely have been exposed. Just as startling is the latest revelation of the condition of Republican voter in Philadelphia. Here a city election has just been held and Vane, whose corrupt and crooked practices in his fight for election as Senator were fully exposed, was overwhelmingly endorsed by the voters.

To deal with such a serious situation as this, we will have to go deeper than such mob movements as the Klan; we will even have to go deeper than such traitorous and venal organs as the Republican Party. These are only products of the present system of government by private interests. The only thing that can save us is the abolition of the whole system of government by private interests.

## From The Pen Of Debs

(Compiled by Theodore Debs)

### Labor Vs. Capitalist Preparedness

(The following article, written long before the military and naval O'Brien resolution was passed by the Illinois State Federation of Labor, is Debs' own answer to all attempts to catch the organized workers in military and naval preparedness and sprung by their deadly enemies.)

There are two kinds of "preparedness" growing out of the necessities of the two economic classes to be served.

Plutocratic preparedness is military; proletarian preparedness is industrial. The one calls for guns and makes for despotism, the other for education and makes for freedom. The one sheds blood and the other light.

The owning class that does not produce depends upon force to protect what it has stolen. The producing class that does not own depends upon education, unity, solidarity to recover what it has been robbed of, and to shape society for the promotion of the common happiness.

The owning class want war but do not fight. The producing class fight but do not want war.

The more owning class preparedness in the form of armies and navies, machine guns and shrapnel, the more hopeless the condition of the enslaved masses. The more working class preparedness in the form of education, enlightenment, class-consciousness, industrial and political organization, the nearer the day of deliverance.

Let the capitalists furnish their own preparedness and let us of the working class use every particle of our energy in preparing our forces for the overthrow of capitalism and for our own emancipation.

## War and Peace Issue Nearing Great International Showdown

Every present indication points to a vital contest between the forces of war and peace during the remaining months of 1927.

A gate toward PEACE has been opened by the League of Nations, but other gates have been opened within the past few weeks toward WAR by Great Britain, Italy, Japan and other countries.

The assembly of the league of nations unanimously adopted the Polish proposal for the outlawry of war. The resolution prohibits aggressive warfare and makes arbitration of dispute compulsory.

The convention passed another resolution, also unanimously, asking the league's special commission for the drafting of an international convention for the control of the private manufacture of war materials to make a new attempt to reach an agreement.

A few days prior to the passage of the resolution the powers connected with the League of Nations agreed to unite on calling a world disarmament conference.

The various proposals of the League looking toward peace that have been adopted within the past few weeks constitute on the whole the first serious attempt of this body to carry out the peace program upon which its existence was based.

Considering the farcical outcome of all previous attempts to reach an agreement of any kind looking toward peace and the quick blow up of the so-called Locarno pact as a result of the ingrained imperialism and militarism of the great powers, there would be little hope that the present peace drive would lead to anything definite were it not for a significant recent development.

The present peace proposals represent an expression to a large extent of a series of victories in the League by the smaller nations and against the great powers that have held the world in bondage since the World War. For the first time in the history of the League of Nations the small powers have worked together with such will and unity that the great powers have yielded ground to their wishes. The small powers represent quite a different viewpoint internationally than the great powers. They have no hope of any kind of national defense that would prove effective in case of war. They are forced to rely on a peaceful world for protection, rather than on armies and navies. They are directly interested on account of their military weakness in building up a peaceful world, especially those nations now, especially those nations in which the workers are powerful politically, that are now taking anti-war vows with each other. Should these nations become a real factor in the fight between WAR and PEACE, the world will see a real beginning toward peace.

Another new peace factor that has made itself felt in the League of Nations for the first time are the nations that were DISARMED as a result of the World War. Germany is the most prominent type of this kind. These nations represent a new DISARMAMENT interest. The disarmed nations are for the disarmament of other nations as a matter of mere self-preservation. It is not outside the realm of possibility that they represent the beginning of the disarmament process in the modern world. With the release of the new forces it is not impossible that the world may see some real beginning in the march toward peace in 1927.

It is well, however, to be on guard. The great powers that are deeply involved in processes of imperialism and war have made some exceedingly dangerous recent moves.

While the policies of the League of Nations seems to be responding more and more to the viewpoint of the smaller and the disarmed nations, the real powers that own and dominate three-fourths of the world, and hold its fate in the hollow of their hands, are still arming with all the latest devilish instruments of wholesale destruction that science can devise.

Great Britain less than two weeks ago served notice on the League that the new policies were aimed against the British empire and that Great Britain would sign no more peace agreements.

Italy is now involved in some of her most sinister intrigues in Greece and Lithuania in the extension of the fascist international, an utterly barbarous and savage system wholly unamenable to law and civilization. These two powers—Italy and Great Britain, abetted by France—are planning a cold blooded seizure of Turkey, solely because they want her territories and wealth. Japan is buying immense quantities of arms in Europe with which to conquer and seize Manchuria. But most sinister of all is the new agreement revealed between Great Britain and France to form an anti-Communist cordon around Russia for the common defense of the British and French colonies against Russia. France and Russia, as a result, are near a break, and the scheme of the British imperialists to build up a world combination of capitalist governments and strangle Russia has advanced one more dangerous step toward culmination.

The whip of WAR is still in the hands of the great imperialist powers, but the entry of the weak and civilized nations as a new organized factor has slightly changed the situation and raised a new defense of civilization and progress.

## Churchmen Flay Profit System and Indorse Socialism

### For Rights of Labor, Free Speech and Cooperative Control and Ownership of Industry

The profit motive in industry was denounced, and a ringing declaration was passed advocating "the democratic control of industry" at the Colorado Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at its annual meeting in Denver, September 24. This resolution was a reaffirmation of the stand of this body in previous recent conferences.

The part of the resolution describing the new social order pictures the true ideals of Socialism. This part of the resolution says:

"The Church must clearly teach the principle of the fullest possible cooperative control and ownership of industry and the natural resources upon which industry depends."

The right of the workers to organize under the present system and bargain collectively was upheld and a strong resolution was passed demanding the rights of free speech in America. The resolution on free speech is a splendid, monumental declaration in the face of the capitalist, militaristic and "patriotic" elements. This resolution, says in part:

## Churchmen Flay Profit System and Indorse Socialism

### For Rights of Labor, Free Speech and Cooperative Control and Ownership of Industry

"With a growing conviction that the church itself is increasingly in the defense of those liberties won under the liberalizing influence of the Gospel, we protest against all attempts of individuals and organizations to suppress the rights of free speech and assembly granted by the Constitution of the United States. As ministers of the Gospel we cherish the old-age and inalienable liberty of the prophets to criticize the institutions of their day and to warn of judgments to come when justice miscarries, righteousness is destroyed and our human and Christian liberties are violated."

"As Americans we hold that democratic government is most easily and quickly undermined by the suppression of opinion. We believe that Thomas Jefferson enunciated a highly patriotic principle when he declared, 'If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this Union or to change the republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments to the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left to combat them.'"

## Labor Delegation to Russia Back- Report in 2 Weeks

### NEW YORK. — The unofficial American trade union delegation which has been studying labor conditions in Russia returned Monday on the Leviathan.

John Brophy of the United Mine Workers, spokesman for the group, said the report of the delegation would not be ready for two weeks. With him were four of the ten men who sailed with the delegation last July. At that time William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, said the mission did not represent the federation.

In a statement given out by Mr. Brophy, it was explained that the delegation has interviewed labor leaders in England, Belgium, France, Holland, Germany and Poland and that a month had been spent in Russia. Mr. Brophy said, to cover the eight principal cities, the industrial and agricultural districts.

## Debs Radio Station Will Be Different

(From The Chicago Tribune)

Preliminary to the dedication of station WEVD at Woodhams, Long Island City, N. Y., which will begin operation Oct. 1 as a memorial to the late Eugene V. Debs, socialist leader, G. August Gerber, director of the station, has been in Washington conferring with federal officials.

"Our programs will be entirely different from the other and, I believe, as constructive as anything yet heard in New York City," said Mr. Gerber, discussing his plans. "A radio extension university, the curriculum of which will include English, civics, citizenship, history, and politics, will be unique."

However, the people who think we are simply going to put on a lot of talks will be very much mistaken. Light entertainment will be introduced into the program, as time allowed permits. The station will be operated not only for the entertainment of its listeners, but also for their improvement and benefit. WEVD will be a unique station."

## Matteotti Memorial Unveiled in Brussels

BRUSSELS, Belgium.—The Matteotti Memorial, commemorating the heroism and supreme sacrifice of Matteotti, former Socialist member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, who gave his life in an effort to expose the monstrous crimes of Mussolini and his fascist followers, was unveiled at a great meeting in the Maison du Peuple, cooperative building owned by the Brussels workers, where it will stand as a great tribute and symbol to the Italian crusade martyr.

The memorial was erected by the Labor and Socialist International which gathered gifts for this purpose from every country in the world. The monument is carved in white Vosges sandstone and forms a half-relief in the middle of which a pillar rises bearing a flaming heart. There are standing against the pillar and leaning on it a mourning workman and working woman with bowed heads. The column bears in French the inscription: "This Flaming Heart Beat for Liberty."

In the pedestal, which bears the same inscription in Flemish and Italian, a medallion is inserted portraying a half-relief of Matteotti.

Among the speakers on this historic occasion were Arthur Henderson, president of the International, Socialist Deputy Van Roosbroeck of Belgium and Philippe Turin of Italian Socialist leader, former member of the Chamber of Deputies and co-worker with Matteotti, and at present a refugee from fascist terrorism.

## Factory Jobs Slump

From June to July, 1927, employment in manufacturing industries decreased 2 per cent, reports the U. S. Department of Labor. Pay roll totals decreased 4.5 per cent.

## DEADLY PARALLEL—BRITISH AND AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

### The American Way

LONDON.—The Daily Herald here publishes an interview with James Norman Smith, former United States protest marshal in Haiti, who gives the following account of conditions under the rule of American marines during the war, I joined the United States secret service in 1919, and was sent on special duty to Haiti at the beginning of the following year.

"When I arrived, there were no jails on the island, and no roads. When I had presented a report on the condition of the island and of the native population, Mr. Smedley Butler with 2,000 United States marines (now at Shanghai) was sent to begin construction work."

### The British Way

MANCHESTER.—The Manchester Guardian recently published a report of the findings of the judges of the supreme court of Sierra Leone, which proves that this British colony in West Africa still maintains slavery.

The court ruled that a slave owner in Sierra Leone has the right to recapture a runaway slave. The Guardian adds: "There are probably few people who know that slavery still exists in a protectorate which has been under British rule for 30 years."

Although some of the British authorities in Sierra Leone made desultory attempts to mitigate or abolish slavery, and although only last year an ordinance was passed permitting slaves to buy their freedom, forbidding the import of slaves, and setting the children of slaves free, the owners recaptured runaway slaves.

When these owners were accused of assault, they appealed to the supreme court, which reversed the decision of the lower courts and declared slavery still legal.

One dissenting judge admitted that slavery had not been abolished and that the law still recognized slavery as a valid institution. But to allow a man to recapture a runaway slave was regarded as natural justice, equity and good conscience, he argued.

### Natives Are Kidnapped

"Ex-service men, among them several Englishmen, were appointed district judges. Smith went on: 'We were instructed to set about the task of impressing native labor.'

"In the first month, we netted 900 Negroes on every imaginable charge, such as singing and shouting on the streets, drunkenness, anything we could think of."

"Most of them had no idea of what they were accused. They were confined in prison camps throughout the island and set to road-making. Their sentences, imposed arbitrarily by the district judges, ranged from 10 to 15 years."

"If we had a six months job, then they all got six months at hard labor. The expedition with which this work was pushed forward was the result of the Barahona Sugar Co., an American concern which held wide concessions in Haiti."

### Violate Good Laws

One dissenting judge admitted that slavery had not been abolished and that the law still recognized slavery as a valid institution. But to allow a man to recapture a runaway slave was regarded as natural justice, equity and good conscience, he argued.

The Guardian thinks that this case will become historical for British justice, because it revives slavery as a legal status while pretending to abolish it gradually.

This is due to the fact that the law-nakers wanted to avoid a sudden break in the customs of the country and continued slavery by tolerance although mitigating it as a legal status.

In the case of Sierra Leone, however, steps to abolish slavery have been very slow. If the supreme court now argues that the law does not seek to abolish slavery, but merely to modify it as a system of property, slavery is given a new lease of life.

"But it cannot stand as British law," The Guardian declares. "The league of nations is engaged in the task of suppressing slavery. With what face could we take our share in such a crime as the recapture of slaves in that task, if we had on our conscience such a crime against freedom as this?"

### Required Quick Work

"They required the rapid construction of roads and railways to enable them to compete successfully against the Canadian Sugar Co., which had large concessions as well."

"The Canadian company, operating for the Royal Bank of Canada, had to pay for its labor. The Americans used convict labor. Marines with fixed bayonets acted as warders, and Negroes were flogged and confined in dark cells for the smallest offense. Women worked on the roads with men."

"The government allowed 30 cents per day for the rationing of each prisoner. Actually they were fed on 7 cents. The American officers got the rest."

### Pervent Legal Intent

The Guardian thinks that this case will become historical for British justice, because it revives slavery as a legal status while pretending to abolish it gradually.

This is due to the fact that the law-nakers wanted to avoid a sudden break in the customs of the country and continued slavery by tolerance although mitigating it as a legal status.

In the case of Sierra Leone, however, steps to abolish slavery have been very slow. If the supreme court now argues that the law does not seek to abolish slavery, but merely to modify it as a system of property, slavery is given a new lease of life.

"But it cannot stand as British law," The Guardian declares. "The league of nations is engaged in the task of suppressing slavery. With what face could we take our share in such a crime as the recapture of slaves in that task, if we had on our conscience such a crime against freedom as this?"

## British Unions Maintain Their Socialist Stand

Two outstanding acts of the recent British Trade Union Congress at Edinburgh were: rejection of Tory Premier Baldwin's plea for industrial peace; and rejection of all offers of alliance with Lloyd George's Liberal party. The organized workers of Great Britain, confident of their present strong position and of early victory, voted to maintain an independent political and industrial position.

The congress unanimously declared that the greatest hindrance to industrial peace is Premier Baldwin. The conference called attention to his legislative and industrial policy, his attacks on working standards, and the deliberate class bias displayed by him in the various Trades Disputes and Trades Union Act. This legislation permits any magistrate, on request of the attorney general, to enjoin any strike that is intended to coerce a community or the government."

During the industrial turmoil the past year, Lloyd George's Liberal Party has either stood aloof or aided the government. This has not been forgotten by organized workers when they are told how desirable a coalition against the Tory Party would be. The Liberals are reduced to a mere handful in the House of Commons, and they would gladly accept any plan to reinstate themselves.

This action gives the lie to repeated statements in American capitalist papers that British Labor was taking a more conservative stand and was about to form an alliance with the Liberals. The British trade unionists maintained their completely Socialist position.

## War Devours Three- Fifths of World's Government Income

Arthur G. Enock, a British engineering authority with a weakling for statistics, announces that nearly three-fifths of the public income of the world in the first 20 years of this century was spent for armaments. In that period the 11 principal countries put \$207,870,755,980 into war and armaments, and \$231,245,873,185 into all other forms of expenditure. Even in 1924 he reports that expenditures for war purposes were 50 per cent of the total outlay.

In the same period, the combined national debts of these powers rose from \$20,000,000,000 to \$265,000,000,000.

## Announcement Extraordinary

The most lively, stimulating, informative and interesting series of articles in the history of the American Appeal will begin to appear in the issue of October 8.

They will be in the form of a symposium on political action and the necessity of a political party of the workers and producers in the United States, by outstanding writers.

Dr. Laidler, our Feature Editor, has sent in a list of those who have consented to contribute articles to date. Here it is:

Upton Sinclair, Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the Nation; Mary Raul Millis, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Elizabeth Gilman, Dr. John Lovejoy Elliott, William Lloyd Eversley Preston, Walter Nelles, John M. Work, Seymour Steadman, Benjamin C. Marsh, Ernest Untermyer, Alfred Baker Lewis, William Karlin and Miss Helen Phelps Stokes.

Rush your subs in right away, so your friends and fellow workers will miss none of these splendid articles. Order bundles for distribution.

## Urge Life Term for Red Flag Display In Massachusetts

BOSTON.—A bill under which any person displaying a red flag on any premises, or in any public place, or in any organized government could be convicted of a felony and receive a maximum sentence of life imprisonment has been filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts by Representative Harrison H. Atwood.

The bill provides that the flag or emblem must be displayed "in such a manner as to incite anarchistic or seditious action" before a conviction can be obtained.

Another bill, which Mr. Harrison filed would make the advocacy of criminal syndicalism a felony with a maximum penalty of fourteen years imprisonment.

## Labor's Share of Product Slumping

American Labor's share of the food and clothing produced in the United States is still declining. There was a decline in the first half of 1927 as compared with the average of 1926. These statements are based upon figures just compiled by the American Federation of Labor. The first index of Labor's share in its product will appear in the October issue of the American Federationist. Thereafter the American Federationist will print from month to month index figures on Labor's share of the product of industry.

Regarding the last six month decline, the current A. F. of L. News Service says:

"Because of lack of statistics we have to confine ourselves to food and clothing, but these are the most important commodities the wage earner buys. This index shows that the workers' share the first half of year 1927 was a trifle smaller, on the average, than in 1926. It was comparatively much smaller than labor's share in the factory. This indicates that retail prices have gone up, compared with wholesale prices. It shows that trade increased its share in the manufactured product at the expense of labor."

"The index sustains organized labor's demand for a social wage that will assure cultural progress and lessen the danger of depressions and crises."

## Miners' Radio Beats Anti-Picketing Order

Prevented from picketing activities by a Federal court injunction, striking union coal miners at Florence, Ohio, have resorted to the radio to dissuade non-union miners from going to work in the pits.

The amateur broadcasting station used has a radius of three miles, but because of the peculiar formation of the valley in the mining region it reaches all approaches to the Florence mines.

"Please do not go to work here; do not take bread from our starving babies," is the message being broadcast.

Court officials, after burrowing in all known Federal stations, found there was no law to prevent the appeal being broadcast.



# What Will Be Your Memorial Offering on Anniversary of Debs' Birth and Death?

The time approaches to commemorate the birth and death of our revered comrade, Eugene Victor Debs. The first anniversary of Debs' death will occur October 20. The anniversary of his birth will be on November 5th.

We are asking every reader of the American Appeal who is a Socialist or a friend of Debs to commemorate this period by doing some of the things that would please Debs most, were he alive.

Were Debs alive he would want you to do something, not for him personally, but for the Great Cause to which he consecrated his life.

He would want you to do something, first of all, for the Socialist Party. Secondly, he would want you to do something for the official organ of that Party—the American Appeal. The American Appeal was Debs' last child. He firmly believed that it was necessary to the success of the Party and was convinced that if it could be kept in the field several it would serve as the greatest and most important factor in reviving the Socialist Party and making it a factor in America.

As the first big step in reviving the Socialist movement in America, Debs would want you to do something for the American Appeal more than for anything else.

Realizing that not only the official organ of the Socialist Party is essential to the rebuilding of the Socialist movement, but also the entire Socialist press of America is equally vital in the period of rebuilding, he would want each comrade to do something for the Socialist paper in his or her section of the country.

It is particularly fitting that every Socialist and friend of Debs should do something for the American Appeal. The Appeal is the only living work of Debs, constructed largely by his own efforts, that now perpetuates his name, and continues his purposes. To let the Appeal die, would be like letting the still living part of Debs die. Special efforts should be concentrated on the American Appeal during the first anniversary since his death.

If every comrade or friend of Debs should respond with some token of remembrance helpful to the American Appeal, the existence of Debs paper would be absolutely assured for at least another year.

Can you not remember Debs' paper on the first anniversary of his death? There are thousands of you. A little token from each would absolutely perpetuate Debs' paper for at least another year. Are there any of you who will fail, as comrades of Debs, in this one little act that will mean so much in the perpetuation of his work and his memory?

There are sixteen days from the date of Debs' death to the date of his birth. They are to be Debs' days. Sixteen days consecrated to intensive activity. In this memorial work of love, it is very important that there should be the biggest response in the history of the American Appeal. We are warning you plenty of time beforehand. Make up your mind that you will not let this period pass without doing something, and then be sure to do it.

Break all precedents of inactivity; get out of the rut; do something on this first anniversary since the death of Debs, and watch what happens!

You can do any one of these things, several of these things or all of these things:

1—Get one or more subs for the Appeal.

2—Renew your own subscription.

3—Order sub cards to be sold or given away later.

4—Order bundles of the Debs Memorial Edition of the Appeal.

5—Assist the Appeal circulation in any way to the extent of \$5 and receive a special autographed copy of Walls and Bars free.

6—You who intend to order Walls and Bars, Debs' last and greatest work order during the Debs Anniversary Period. Walls and Bars is being used to finance the Socialist Party for the 1928 campaign, and any assistance in circulating Walls and Bars is direct aid to Debs Party and movement.

Plans are being laid to make Debs' Days the greatest period of Socialist activity since the War. The national office is busy making arrangements in cooperation with the locals and branches for meetings.

Get ready to do something for the Appeal and for Walls and Bars at these meetings.

The Appeal office is now busy preparing lists of expiring subscriptions, and former subscribers in localities all over the country. These lists will be sent to active members of the Appeal Army, who will get renewals and new subscriptions from former subscribers. This offers the easiest opportunity to get Walls and Bars free. Such lists will be sent to any one asking for them.

All activities for the Appeal for Walls and Bars, and for the Party, will be recorded as Your Memorial Offering from the time this issue of the American Appeal reaches your hands.

Get busy now. In memory and in honor of our great comrade Debs, let's make this a supreme and crowning success.

Start the ball to rolling by ordering a bundle of Debs Memorial Edition on this blank, at the rate of 2 cents per copy:

NATIONAL OFFICE SOCIALIST PARTY,  
2653 Washington Blvd.,  
Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed you will find \$..... for which send me..... copies of Debs Memorial Edition of the American Appeal.

Name.....

Street.....

City.....

State.....

Country.....

Send order to

NATIONAL OFFICE SOCIALIST PARTY,  
2653 Washington Blvd.,  
Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed you will find \$..... for which send me..... copies of Debs Memorial Edition of the American Appeal.

Name.....

Street.....

City.....

State.....

Country.....

Send order to

NATIONAL OFFICE SOCIALIST PARTY,  
2653 Washington Blvd.,  
Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed you will find \$..... for which send me..... copies of Debs Memorial Edition of the American Appeal.

Name.....

Street.....

City.....

State.....

Country.....

Send order to

NATIONAL OFFICE SOCIALIST PARTY,  
2653 Washington Blvd.,  
Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed you will find \$..... for which send me..... copies of Debs Memorial Edition of the American Appeal.

Name.....

Street.....

City.....

State.....

Country.....

Send order to

NATIONAL OFFICE SOCIALIST PARTY,  
2653 Washington Blvd.,  
Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed you will find \$..... for which send me..... copies of Debs Memorial Edition of the American Appeal.

Name.....

Street.....

City.....

State.....

Country.....

Send order to

NATIONAL OFFICE SOCIALIST PARTY,  
2653 Washington Blvd.,  
Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed you will find \$..... for which send me..... copies of Debs Memorial Edition of the American Appeal.

Name.....

Street.....

City.....

State.....

Country.....

Send order to

NATIONAL OFFICE SOCIALIST PARTY,  
2653 Washington Blvd.,  
Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed you will find \$..... for which send me..... copies of Debs Memorial Edition of the American Appeal.

Name.....

Street.....

City.....

State.....

Country.....

Send order to

NATIONAL OFFICE SOCIALIST PARTY,  
2653 Washington Blvd.,  
Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed you will find \$..... for which send me..... copies of Debs Memorial Edition of the American Appeal.

Name.....

Street.....

City.....

State.....

Country.....

Send order to

NATIONAL OFFICE SOCIALIST PARTY,  
2653 Washington Blvd.,  
Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed you will find \$..... for which send me..... copies of Debs Memorial Edition of the American Appeal.

Name.....

Street.....

## Socialist Party News

### Debs Memorial Meetings

The call for arrangements of memorial meetings on the first anniversary of the death of our beloved comrade, Eugene V. Debs, on or near October 20 is being followed out by the comrades throughout the country, judging from reports received at National Headquarters. Not only will the Socialists commemorate this anniversary but other organizations that are friendly to the Socialist Party will cooperate in the arrangements for such meetings.

Where there is more than one organization of Socialists in one city, they are all combining and in places where there is but one local or branch, meetings are being arranged just the same. Where there are no organizations, individual comrades will put in their best efforts in getting new members to the Party and getting subscriptions for the American Appeal.

### 16 Days of Activity

The 16 days from October 20 to November 5 will be red letter days for the Socialist Party of the United States. The 5th of November is the birthday of Gen. and in many places where possible there will be a meeting on November 5. At all of these meetings new members to the Party will be secured. Members back in their dues will be urged to pay up and a general drive for subscriptions to the American Appeal and other Socialist papers will be carried out. There will be active committees on the work in every community, not only getting members to the Party, but subscriptions to the American Appeal, but selling Socialist books, especially the new Debs book "Walls and Bars."

On October 15, the American Appeal will come out as a memorial edition and comrades everywhere are expected to order bundles of them for distribution at the meetings and other places.

Arrangements should be reported to the American Appeal as soon as made so we may be able to cooperate in the work.

### Planning for the Convention

To all Local and Branch Secretaries of the Socialist Party.  
Dear Comrade Secretary:  
Please submit this to your members at the earliest opportunity.

Call For Agenda Proposals  
The attention of the membership is called to the following provision of the National Constitution of the Socialist Party.

**Agenda Committee**  
Section 11, Article VI. "The National Executive Committee shall formulate the agenda for the Party convention. The Committee shall issue a call for resolutions and suggestions four months before the convention, allowing one month for filing of same with the Committee. After preparing a preliminary agenda based upon the material received at the expiration of the allotted time, the Committee shall send it to the subdivisions of the Party for amendment and revision, allowing one month for same. Upon receipt of revisions, the Committee shall prepare a final draft of the agenda which shall be sent to the Party subdivisions and submitted to the convention."

Agenda propositions as provided by the above section are now in order and should be mailed to the National Office of the Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois, not later than October 22, 1927.

—Wm. H. Henry,  
Executive Secretary.

### California

The State Executive Committee of California met in Fresno, recently and mapped out a campaign of unusual activity. After canvassing the situation in their state, they decided that the time had come to forward a match in the building up of the movement and preparing for the big campaign of 1928. Every congressional district, every assembly district is to have its own committee and as far as possible they expect to have active men and women in every precinct. The 25,000 declared Socialists in the state are being urged to get into the Party for work. All those who are ready to be counted as rebels in the building up of a mighty political movement in California should get in touch with the State Secretary at once. Write Lena Morrow Lewis, 204 Grant Bldg., San Francisco, Calif.

### Los Angeles

Comrade R. W. Anderson, Secretary of Los Angeles, reports the organization of a new branch of their Party on the 12th of the month with five members. It is called Branch 6, Goodyear, Virgil Emerson, 750 East 38th St. is the Secretary. While the membership of the Branch starts out with only five members, the comrades expect to double that number within a week's time.

The comrades of Los Angeles will hold a Debs memorial meeting on November 6, Sunday. A hall for that purpose has not yet been secured but will be reported in time to be published by the American Appeal.

### New York

State Secretary Merrill has called the attention of locals to provisions of the Election Law relating to the organization of official county committees. Such committees, if elected at the primary this year, must meet and organize in fifteen days, or on or before October 5th. Schematically, by taking advantage of Section 13 of the Election Law, has provided for county committee elections only on even-numbered years, but counties that have not adopted appropriate amendments to party rules have to elect official county committees annually.

Buffalo comrades are out for a "victory campaign" this year. At a splendidly attended Party meeting held recently, addresses were made by Commissioner Frank C. Perkins, Rev. Herman Hahn, James Battistoni, Chas. H. Roth, Martin B. Heisler and others, and \$87.00 was collected as a starter for a campaign fund. The adoption by the voters of Buffalo of a charter knocking out non-partisan municipal elections has served to stimulate and cement the ranks of the Socialists of Buffalo.

The next meeting of the State Executive Committee is expected to be held in New York City on the 1st and 2nd of October.

### Maryland

Affairs of the Socialist Party are going ahead in Maryland. To be sure they are going slowly but the big thing is, they are going ahead.

### New Branch in Baltimore

Quite recently a new branch was organized in Baltimore by Comrade Toole, the new organization now having ten members. The Secretary claims that the branch will have twenty-five members by Christmas. The Central Branch has also received half a dozen additions to its membership. Three meetings are held out doors weekly. The principal one is held on Saturday nights at the corner of Baltimore and Holiday Sts. All Socialists should attend.

### Take Part in Car Fight

What was a new departure for Socialists in this state was the participation of the State Executive Committee of the Party in the fight against the request of the Union Railway and Electric Company for an increase of car fare. Comrade Wm. A. Toole represented the Party before the Public Service Commission. His appearance at the council table caused a mild sensation, and gave the Party considerable advertisement in the town.

**Advocated Municipal Ownership**  
Comrade Toole advocated municipal ownership of the car lines and told the Commission that the trouble of the Railway Company was the inevitable result of private ownership, and that it would be the lesser evil to refuse the relief asked even if it drove the company into a receivership, so that the municipality could take the advantage of its right to take over the lines at the expiration of each fifteen years. The hearing lasted seven days.

### Illinois Cook County

The Socialist Party of Cook County will hold a memorial meeting in remembrance of the late Eugene V. Debs, at Douglas Park Labor Lyceum, Kedzie and Kedzie Avenues, on Thursday evening, October 20 at 8 P. M. A number of prominent local comrades will speak on this occasion, among them Wm. A. Cunneen, Samuel Levin of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, George R. Kirkpatrick, Murray E. King, Editor of the American Appeal, Wm. H. Henry, National Executive Secretary, Dr. Lorber of the Jewish Daily Forward and John R. Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor and several others have been invited to speak.

There will be appropriate music on this occasion in addition to the speaking program. All the Socialists in Cook County as well as those friends of Debs in the labor and liberal movement will want to be present on this occasion. All labor groups and those interested in the betterment of mankind are invited to attend this affair. Debs was beloved by millions who did not share his political beliefs.

### Severino Pollo

Comrade Severino Pollo, one of the very best workers in the Socialist movement to be found anywhere in the United States, who has resided in the little town of Clinton, Ind., for many years, has just moved his family and is now located in Milwaukee, Wis. Comrade Pollo was indeed a leading figure in that city. Elsewhere in this issue we will give the Central Labor Union of Clinton, Ind. While Indiana has lost one of its staunchest workers, Milwaukee gains.

### Concerning the Memorial Edition

Honestly, THE DEBS MEMORIAL EDITION, which will appear bearing the date of October 20, is plenty in time for distribution at all the MEETINGS, will be the best use of the history of the Party. It will be a great propaganda number for distribution at the MEMORIAL MEETINGS and elsewhere.

Any one, or any organization, ordering \$5 worth or more in bundles will get a copy of WALLS AND BARS free.

Order now. The price is 2 cents per copy, or 50 copies for a dollar.

### Executive Committee To Meet in Detroit

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party will hold their next meeting in Detroit, Mich., on Saturday and Sunday, Oct. 15 and 16. There will most likely be a mass meeting and a banquet held there during the meeting. Comrades of Detroit and vicinity will be notified in good time through the columns of the American Appeal the time and place of the meetings when the arrangements have been completed.

### Another Comrade Passes

It is with regret that we learn of the death on September 20th of Comrade John J. Berger, at Huntington, Arkansas. Comrade Berger was one of the good men through the columns of the American Appeal, and a devoted adherent to the cause. He was also for many years an active member of the United Mine Workers of America, holding numerous offices in his local and district organizations, and serving as delegate to national conventions. He was the brother of Mabel H. Barnes, of the National Office force, and Mrs. Bertha H. King, formerly executive secretary of the Party.

### Graham for Later Convention Date

By James D. Graham  
(Montana Member, National Executive Committee)

The advisability of the Socialist Party holding a National Convention on January 14th, should be abandoned by Party members, and how the holding of the convention at that time may effect the vote cast for our candidate for president.

When the National Executive Committee, last May in Pittsburgh, fixed the date of the convention, it did so in a bit of a hurry. There were no reasons advanced why January 14th was the advisable date to hold the convention. When the convention was mentioned, one comrade enthusiastically urged that we hold the convention to nominate our candidate for president and vice-president in October or November of this year. The writer said that March of next year was early enough, and a third member, in a genial mood, made a compromise motion, splitting the difference between October and March and naming January 14th as the date for convening the convention.

The agitation that took place some twenty years ago for the presidential preferential primaries, produced in many states very liberal laws, as far as the placing of presidential elections on the ballot are concerned. In quite a number of states the names of candidates for electors must be filed with the Secretary of State early in the year, regardless of the date the national convention is held, and the party failing to file the names of their candidates for electors in time cannot appear on the ballot in that state as far as presidential electors are concerned. It must be remembered, that in most states, that have your local endorse the Local Livingstone referendum on postponing the convention, or at least let the National Executive Committee know that you do not favor the convention being held on January 14th.

state as far as presidential electors are concerned. It must be remembered, that in most states, in the west at least, the law relating to placing of electors on the ballot is entirely different from the law governing the nomination of a candidate for Congress, state and local offices.

While there is as much Socialist sentiment and thought in this country as there ever was, the great shifting of population that has taken place within the past few years has had a very disastrous effect on the organization of the Socialist Party, and it takes time for these Socialists who have been changing their place of residence frequently of late to get sufficiently acquainted in their new location to be of any assistance or value in organization work.

In the present state of organization the Socialist Party is in, there is a danger that there will be from sixteen to twenty-four states in which there will be no Socialist presidential electors on the ballot. No matter whom we may nominate as our candidate for president, no matter how many Socialist voters may be in the state, unless there are Socialist electors on the ballot in that state our candidate for president will receive no votes.

There has been no organization work done by our Party during the past year, and many states that are organized have only a skeleton of an organization and the national organization has no funds to put organizers to work.

It will require at least three thousand dollars to finance our convention, regardless of when it is held, and if the convention is held on January 14th, the funds will be used to finance it, and only six weeks will be left in the year to have the names of our electors filed, with the Secretary of State, in many unorganized states, and no funds with which to do the work.

Every penny that is possible for the National Office to raise between the present and next March should be spent on field work, on organizers whipping the unorganized and poorly organized states in shape so that we can get electors on the ballot in every state in the union, after that the convention.

Placing electors on the ballot in unorganized, or poorly organized states cannot be done by correspondence or long distance phone from Chicago; it can only be done by personal supervision, by some one in the state to secure the necessary affidavits by qualified voters. There is lots of time and labor required, all of which taken money.

It will be far better for our Party to proceed with the work of building up our organization and in assuring that we will be on the ballot in the unorganized states, better to postpone the convention a few months and work to have a large representation at our convention which can be had if the convention is held in January on account of the present state of organization. Build up the unorganized districts, hold a large and enthusiastic convention and go into the campaign as we used to do years ago with pep and determination to advance our cause as far as we can humanly do.

If you favor running no risks in having our ticket off the ballot in many states, then have your local endorse the Local Livingstone referendum on postponing the convention, or at least let the National Executive Committee know that you do not favor the convention being held on January 14th.

### Labor Men Praise Socialist Worker

Splendid praise for Severino Pollo, one of the best workers in the Socialist and trade union movements in this country, comes from the trade union leaders in Clinton, Indiana, where Comrade Pollo has conducted a retail business for years. The occasion for this praise from the trade

### Walls and Bars Prize Winners

The following members of the Appeal Army sent in \$5 or more worth of subscriptions, sub card orders or financial assistance and received Walls and Bars free as a memento and reward of service:  
Wm. Stelk, Chicago, Ill. \$5.00 sub and cards  
O. D. Maloney, Spring Valley, Minn. \$5.10 sub and cards  
J. J. Duhamel, Medford, Oregon. \$5.00 sub  
F. A. Hurd, Goodland, Kansas. \$6.00 sub and donation.

Former American soldiers revisiting the scenes of the World War in France are suffering from return of shell shock. What could bring out the terrible and infernal nature of war more than this?

### A Two Dollar Book for Fifty cents Drugless Health

A new book by Dr. Joseph H. Greer 253 Pages 75 Illustrations Health and long life by Natural Means. Money back if not Satisfied.  
Send Stamps or Money Order.  
DR. JOSEPH H. GREER  
4114 Michigan Ave., Chicago

### The Labor World

Oldest continuous weekly Socialist paper in the U. S.  
Room 208 Grand Bldg.  
San Francisco  
Cameron H. King, Editor  
Lena Morrow Lewis, Mgr. Ed.  
\$1 per year.

### Volks-Stimme

German Socialist Weekly  
Subscription Rate, \$2.00 Per Year Write Today for a Sample Copy  
VOLKS-STIMME  
107 No. 6th St. PHILADELPHIA, PA.

### THE NEW LEADER

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY  
10 Pages Each Week  
Indispensable to anyone who desires to be well posted on the progress and activities of the Socialist and Labor Movement here and abroad.  
JAMES ONEAL, Editor  
Weekly features by Norman Thomas, McAlister Coleman, Adam Coudler, Samuel A. De Witt, etc.  
\$1.00 FOR SIX MONTHS  
Send today for a sample copy  
THE NEW LEADER  
7 E. 15th St. New York City

### Contributions

George Lloyd, Brooklyn, N. Y. \$ 1.00  
Forward Association, New York City..... 500.00  
C. E. Perry, Logansport, Ind. 1.00  
Dr. Geo. Welby Van Pelt, Washington, D. C. 1.00  
Branch No. 19, Milwaukee Wis. 10.00  
John F. Perdue, Ocean Park, Calif. 1.00  
F. A. Hurd, Goodland, Kansas 3.00

\$517.00

### On Pledges

J. L. Stark, Louisville, Ky. \$2.00  
M. Larena, Clothier, W. Va. 2.00  
Total.....\$521.00  
Sub-A-Month Donation  
Joseph Seid, Modesto, Calif. \$1.00  
Leonard N. Doud, Jr., Black River Falls, Wis. 1.00  
Dr. A. J. Adams, Abilene, Tex. 1.00

Total.....\$1.00

Previously reported on Debs Fund..... 687.50

Total on Debt Funds to date..... 704.50

### DEBS' PICTURES

That you will be proud to own. In sizes suitable for homes, offices and halls, all beautifully finished—not cheap prints. Photos, 8x10, the latest and favorite photograph of Comrade Debs, taken especially for the Socialist Party national headquarters and never distributed previous to his death; made direct from the original negative..... \$1.00 each, \$10.00 per doz.

Enlarged Photos, an enlargement of the above, size 16x20..... \$5.00 each, \$50.00 per doz.

Lithographed reproduction of an oil painting by the well known artist, M. Baer; made by the four-color process, with stippled finish; a most attractive picture for halls and clubs..... \$1.00 each, \$ 9.00 per doz.

Send order to  
NATIONAL OFFICE SOCIALIST PARTY,  
2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

## Subscribe Or Get Subscribers On This Blank

AMERICAN APPEAL, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.  
RATES \$1.00 A YEAR; 50 cts. 6 MONTHS



# NEWS AND VIEWS

## Dwight Morrow As Mexican Ambassador

Before the war the magnates, who then owned the country industrially and politically, kept in the background because there was a strong popular prejudice against direct government interference in the industrial owners of America. One of the most significant developments of today is the manner in which these magnates are now assuming public office and taking political charge of us. Dwight Morrow of the firm of Morgan and company and Wall Street's political adviser of Coolidge has just been appointed American Ambassador to Mexico. A big financier has been made judge and arbitrator—the issue of peace and war has been placed in his hands—in connection with the settlement of questions in which his own private property and the private property of his associates are vitally involved. Dwight Morrow can send us to war with Mexico, if he is threatened with private loss. Such a situation would have been impossible before the World War, but after numerous exhibitions of the dumb foolishness of American politicians in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana and 45 other states, the magnates believe they can do anything and get away with it.

## Andrew Mellon Picks The Next President

The magnates have grown so bold that they not only openly rule us and choose our political bosses, but they make us say we like it. Andrew Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, and one of the richest men and most flagrant anti-trust law violators in the nation, is not even going to give us the satisfaction of this. In lieu of Coolidge's refusal, which, however, may be a fake, he has selected Hughes. Mellon controls the Pennsylvania delegates to the Republican convention, and in financial and political position to make the people take Hughes. It will either be Hughes, or some one else Mellon wants. The people will have nothing to say about it, although millions of them are all maddened enough to think they will have had in this exclusive game of millionaires.

## Helping the Owners to Own Us

It is interesting to watch how the non-producing parasite classes are acquiring ownership of everything worth owning in the country. For instance, the private insurance companies have acquired ownership of \$1,125,000,000 worth of stocks and bonds.

The total of investments of the companies in such securities is constantly increasing. About a year ago the companies owned \$3,847,000,000 of stocks and bonds and the year prior the total was \$3,553,000,000. In 1924 it was \$3,428,000,000 and in 1925 it was \$3,272,000,000.

The present holdings include \$2,234,000,000 worth of the securities of steam railways and this amount represents 52.5 per cent of the total ownership of the companies in stocks and bonds. It is the largest single group of such securities held by them.

Government bonds are second and total \$220,000,000, or about 22.5 per cent of the whole.

Obligations of public utilities are also favored as investments by the companies, which now own approximately \$450,000,000 worth of such securities.

In other words, insurance companies are gobbling industries and public utilities at the rate of several hundred millions a year. They are doing it with the money paid by the people for policies. In the same way, but at a much more rapid rate, the banks are gaining possession of industries with the money deposited by the people. Not that it makes any difference to the workers and real producers whether industry is owned by industrial capitalists, bankers or insurance companies, since the same profit system would exist under any or all these forms of ownership, and the worker would pay the full profit, rent and interest charges, no matter who the owners were, but the point we wish to make is that under the present system the food people furnish the money with which to dispossess and pauperize themselves. The only way they can stop this kind of foolishness is to publicly own and democratically operate the banks, insurance system and industries.

## The Patriotism of Big Business

Reactionary Big Business is the foundation of the "patriotic" movement of America. The trick of the plutocrat is to wrap the flag around himself and his business and his ventures into foreign countries and try to place everybody who objects to his oppressive system in the false light of enemies of the United States.

When put to any real test, these "patriots" become "patriots." One of the latest examples of this is the conduct of Big Business in relation to the effort to build up an American merchant marine. It has been shown time and again that a larger trading fleet owned by America, or at least by Americans, is essential in time of war as part of the national defense, and part of the necessary equipment to win the war. The building up of an American merchant marine has been made a patriotic issue.

There are two ways to build up the American merchant marine: build up an American merchant fleet owned by American private interests, or build up one owned by Uncle Sam. No one will deny that of the two the one that would serve the best in the war time would be the one owned outright by the government. The conduct of our "patriotic" movement toward such a possible fleet is illuminating.

We had such a large government-owned fleet handed to us on a platter as a result of the World War. The

Coolidge administration and the chief offender in it, President Coolidge, has done nothing but attempt to sabotage, cripple and give this fleet away to private interests. Through their treacherous and dishonest methods they have permitted the greater part of it to either deteriorate and decay beyond repair, through deliberate disuse, and have given the best part of it to private interest for an incredibly small fraction of the cost of construction. There has been no bones made about why this was done. It has been blatantly admitted all along that this great fleet of people was being ditched to prevent government competition with private enterprises to preserve private profits at the expense of the people.

Coolidge and his administration would rather see a large government owned merchant marine destroyed than to see private shipping interests, most of which belong to vicious monopolies, deprived of some of their profits.

In the meantime, while the Coolidge-Big Business alliance was destroying a merchant marine directly owned by the people, private enterprises, the building up of a merchant marine failed miserably. In other words, Coolidge and big business have been destroying the publicly-owned merchant marine despite the fact that they are depriving the country of one of its greatest assets, the failure of private business to build a substitute.

The worst charges that have ever been hurled against so-called "reds," "bolsheviks" and "radical enemies of the government" are not as bad, as banefully injurious to the country, as essentially unpatriotic, as the action of Coolidge and his plutocratic colleagues.

Here is further light on the reason private enterprise, as it exists in America, cannot build up an American merchant marine. Senator Randall of Louisiana, proved seven years ago that the railroad companies, they and so linked now and have been diverting the trade of the country to foreign ships, while all this agitation has been going on for an American merchant marine. Practically all of the east and west trunk lines are pledged to patronize foreign vessels and to grant special favors, such as reduced freight charges, wharfage and other expenses, to ships by this arrangement they can make bigger profits!

## Miners Fighting for A Civilized Existence

The strike of the soft coal miners, which bids fair to be one of the longest strikes in American history, is for the preservation of a basic wage based on the Jackson scale, which amounts to \$7.50 a day when the miners have work, which is only about half the time.

A splendid explanation and justification of this wage was recently broadcasted from Station WFL, Chicago, by the Chicago Federation of Labor by A. C. Lewis, chief counsel for the Illinois miners.

"The miners' basic wage of \$7.50 per day is not unreasonable," he said. "It is less than is paid the carpenter, the bricklayer, the plasterer and the other trades. The miner's work is skilled. Before he can dig coal he must pass an examination conducted by an Illinois State Board. His hours are long, his work hard and performed in darkness, except for a few days a week. When the coal is so hard to get, and the miner is in constant danger from speeding motors, falling rock and exploding gas. There were 165 fatal accidents and 3,012 non-fatal accidents in Illinois mines last year. Where else is so much of a heavy casualty in industry?"

"The miner's work is reasonable. He does not have steady employment. In 1926 he averaged 155 days a year, scattered over the year at the rate of 1.175. Is it reasonable to ask one to live for less?"

"The labor cost of coal is less than \$1 a ton. You pay \$5, \$6, \$7 and even \$8 a ton, but the miner who has to live on the basis of this average his annual wage is \$1,175. Is it reasonable to ask one to live for less?"

## Public vs. Private Old Age Pensions

Employers' pensions, as compared with federal state pension, to the first to adopt severe blows during the week from high authorities.

The "durability and soundness of these schemes are not proved beyond doubt," says H. B. Butler, deputy director of the International Labor Office.

The hardest blow dealt this system is a report by the Pennsylvania Commission on Old Age Pensions, which was created by the legislature of that State.

"As pension obligations are now carried," the report says, "the commission can not help concluding that unless our present business prosperity continues indefinitely without a setback, public or charitable agencies will be forced in the long run to assume the maintenance of many thousands of workers whose employers had led them to expect that they would be granted pensions in their old age."

"Many of the heads of the big industrial corporations who were among the first to adopt pension provisions of their own are now among the most outspoken critics of current pension methods."

The baneful effects of employers' pensions and welfare work has been pointed out by Abraham Epstein, head of the old age pension movement in America in powerful articles in former issues of the Appeal. Mr. Epstein shows conclusively that the American workers have been wined away from independent political action more by this process than by any other cause. When this bubble bursts as a result of crises in industry and the American workers begin to learn that the only safe dependence

for pensions and real protection in industry is the government, they will develop a social consciousness and will begin to fight as citizens in the political field for their rights as workers.

## American Legion Is Shown Up

The members of the American Legion are having a good chance to see just what the progressive elements of Europe think of them. The Workers and Farmers Federation of War Wounded and Former Combatants refused to participate in the welcome of the Legion to France. The reason they offered is illuminating. Their statement said:

"We thought at first the American Legion was the defender of justice and peace, but at the beginning of the Sacco-Vanzetti affair we began to find otherwise," the statement said. "We learned that the Legion did not limit its activities to the material and moral interest of former soldiers, but also mixed in politics, always taking the side of big business to the detriment of the laboring classes. We were horrified to learn that it actually brought pressure on Gov. Alvan T. Fuller of Massachusetts to assure the execution of Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco, even assuring him support in case of a popular uprising."

This is a good description of the element that dominates the American Legion and fixes its policies. We are glad millions of progressive ex-soldiers in Europe are getting wise to them.

## Fascist International

The fascist international continues to spread. The latest extension is the championship of Pangalos, the despotic dictator of Greece by Mussolini. This black hearted monster, Mussolini, is aiding in throttling the people and assisting despots wherever he can. In the meantime Philip Soudski is getting constantly nearer Mussolini's position. His latest act is the dissolution of the Polish parliament by force of arms. In the meantime "capitalistic democracies" like the present governments of England, France, Germany, and the United States prevent the workers from taking any steps to defend themselves against this dreadful menace. They are warning on the workers on all truly democratic elements and attempting to make them increasingly defenseless. The so-called "democracies" of the United States and Western Europe are fulfilling exactly the same role as that of the former police and army system of Italy, which kept the workers unarmed while Mussolini and his savage armed hordes broke up their movements and ended their rule. The most vicious and dangerous thing in the world today outside of fascism itself is capitalism calling itself democracy.

## Dollar Friendship

While official France was taking the representatives of the American Legion in France to its bosom and pledging undying friendship, a bitter fight was raging between the French and American governments over a French tariff law which the United States claims is flagrantly discriminatory. In that little tariff episode are all the elements of war. It is a retaliatory tariff against America for its debt tariff. Around this issue raged hatred, jealousy, mutual contempt on both sides of the Atlantic in the midst of solemn patriotic ceremonies and public dedications to everlasting friendship. The whole affair is a sickening exhibition of the incurable selfishness and treachery of predatory governments under the present system.

## Outlawry of War

The sad failure of recent flights across the ocean means that America's isolationist attitude, which will not be ended quite so fast as seemed likely earlier in the summer. We have a breathing space in which to plan our affairs so that this new triumph of man's courage and genius shall be a blessing and not a curse, an instrument of peace and not of war.

In this connection it is interesting to note the new interest of the League of Nations in Peace. Dr. Nansen has introduced a comprehensive scheme to deal with the future of a bad compulsory arbitration for disputes not otherwise settled. Dr. Louden, a Dutch delegate before the League of Nations has specifically lauded the "outlawry of war." We are glad that the idea is gaining ground in Europe for we are convinced that Mr. Levinson's plan to outlaw war is the most practicable and important immediate step that might be taken to preserve international peace. The League of Nations itself would take on a different complexion if it existed on the basis of the outlawry of war as an institution, the codification of international law, and the erection of a genuine code of peace to interpret it. Disarmament will become practicable when war is outlawed. The best exposition of this entire matter that we have ever seen is found in a recent book by C. C. Morrison entitled "The Outlawry of War."

We should like to see all progressive unions, farmers' organizations and parties endorse and actively support the entire plan for which he argues so convincingly.

But the progressive forces cannot afford to rest their hope of peace on any panacea, not even the outlawry of war. Mr. Morrison claims too much for his plan. His remedy for the causes of war is quite inadequate and his trust in law as a substitute for war is not supported by the facts of life or of history, certainly not by the fantastic and misleading extreme to which he pushes the analogy between war and disease. The outlawry of war as the Levinson or any other plan is only one step toward peace. The preservation of peace means the end of imperialism. And that, in turn, means the end of both capitalism and nationalism as we now know them. To establish an international

social control over economic resources and processes now left to individual greed without a very deadly war will require more than one step. A peace program must have many elements, and the first of these will be the will which blind us to the need of a steady and systematic campaign against imperialism. And we can't successfully fight imperialism unless we learn to practice internationalism.

## American War Trust Blocks Peace Moves

(Ernest Untermann, in The Milwaukee Leader)

The main reason for the failure of disarmament in and out of the league of nations is private profit.

The league's attempt to stop the private arms traffic is doomed to failure for the evident reason that it cannot stop the American war trust.

With the United States and Russia outside the league, trust with Morgan's trustification of the American war industries, even the Russian Bolshevik government can buy arms and ammunition from Morgan's trust.

The American government has no power to stop the sale of American war supplies to other countries, so long as private ownership is the legal form of business.

Even though Morgan's men may promise Coolidge not to sell any war supplies to Russia, the Moscow government can buy American war goods from other firms in foreign countries.

Any way, what difference does it make whether private or public war industries manufacture the implements of destruction? The latter is necessarily international. It will remain so, even if governments alone can carry on this traffic.

It is impossible to get away from the private causes of war by forbidding the private war traffic. Any way, all wars are caused by industrial wars. Wars will still be caused by the other private industries, even if the private arms and ammunition industries could be effectively stopped by capitalist governments.

The league of nations will remain a failure so long as private profit is the legal basis of human life. The security and arbitration pacts so far concluded are delusions, as every day proves. They have not stopped war preparations, and cannot do so.

Such pacts have become effective peace instruments only to the extent that Labor and Socialist governments can take office and cut off the roots of domestic and international wars by eliminating the private profiteer.

## Socialists Started Compensation Laws

(John M. Work, in The Milwaukee Leader)

Wisconsin adopted the first worker's compensation law in 1911. It was sponsored by Frank Weber, our veteran labor leader, and Fred Brockhausen, his associate in the Wisconsin labor movement. Daniel Hoan, now mayor of Milwaukee, acted as legal adviser of the Wisconsin labor movement.

Since 1911, other states have copied the Wisconsin compensation law. It really protects the people who are injured in industry. It also stopped very effectively the exploitation of injured workers by crafty lawyers, by limiting the lawyer's fee to ten per cent of the compensation, with a maximum fee of \$100.

A recent bulletin of the industrial commission of Wisconsin shows that under this Wisconsin compensation law 29,622 cases were reported and 228,835 dollars paid.

Total benefits amounted to \$36,052,074, the total compensations paid to \$27,218,821, and the medical aid paid amounted to \$4,833,247.

Before the Socialists started this law on its way, the total benefits to workers in case of accident were zero.

## The Koo-Koos Begin to Tell

(In The Milwaukee Leader)

The noble Klans of the Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan are beginning to end up where an imperialism finally end, in the middle of a bad smell. News busting up out of Indiana and Alabama is all to the good for us poor devils who live in the outer darkness far from the Klaverns of light. It's our turn to laugh and say "I told you so." Only we don't have to tell it. The Klan is peaching on itself.

Down in Indiana, trouble has been brewing ever since Stephenson, the valiant Dragon of the Klan, went to the pen for outraging and murdering one of the innocent girls the S. K. was organized, especially to protect from the un-American portion of malodorous. Stephenson got into his head that the rest of the night errands were committing treason against 100-per-centism by leaving him during the night of the saying is. He began to talk out loud.

Then ex-Governor McCray of Indiana came home from the Atlanta pen where he had been taking a vacation for the health of his fellow citizens. Then he also began to talk. The fur began to fly, and now Klansmen are being indicted all over Indiana, from Governor Jackson up and down.

While Indiana is balking at too much Klan morality, Alabama also goes the other way against the saints of the bed-sheeted brotherhood. Down in Birmingham they are actually jailing tender-hearted Kluxers for going around and redeeming the lost sheep of Uncle Sam by beating the hell out of them. The country will soon be in a sad condition, for if the Koo-Koo fall down on whipping us into shape, the "damned and foreigners" will own the country and, then, nobody can save us.

When I think of that I want to weep. Boy, bring me an onion.

# APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

# The American Puzzle

In XII Articles

Article XI

By Ernest Untermann

THE American puzzle has long stumped the Marxian interpreter of the old school. How is it that the most highly monopolized capitalism in the world has produced the weakest trade union movement and the relatively smallest Socialist party in any well developed industrial country?

Mental and Economic Development

In Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, Austria and the Baltic countries, the Socialist parties have carried the mental development of the workers ahead of the economic possibilities of Socialism. In all other countries, the mental development of the workers lags behind the economic development.

According to the Marxian forecast, the American trade union and Socialist movement should lead all others. American capitalism is the most highly developed in the world. The American labor and Socialist movement is insignificant as a political force. What force has kept the minds of the American workers so far back that there is more revolutionary sentiment among American farmers than among American wage workers?

Attempts have been made, many of them to explain this paradox with the help of historical materialism alone. Even these attempts have to grant that the Marxian forecast of economic development is not fully borne out by the actual conditions of the American mind, and the Marxian theory has no science of thinking ready for this practical job, all attempts to explain the American puzzle satisfactorily have failed so far.

Financial Concentration

In the matter of concentration and centralization of capital, the Marxian forecast has not only been fulfilled, but excelled by the development of American capitalism. In the United States, the concentration of the whole economic life of the American nation, and financial control by means of the Federal Reserve and branch banks is centered in a dozen hands. In this respect, financial centralization has gone much further in the United States than in any other country, bringing the Marxian theory up to date in his Finance Capital, ascertained for Europe.

Financiers Can Prevent Catastrophic Crises

But the other fundamental reason which Marx in his Capital assumed as necessary accompaniments of such capital concentration and centralization have not followed in the United States.

First, American financiers are interlocked with the leading capitalists of industry or identical with them. This enables them to systematize and balance supply and demand and to prevent the complete collapse of capitalism through financial, commercial, industrial or agricultural crises. Any way, even Kautsky has dropped the idea that crises from overproduction must necessarily bring on a fatal collapse of capitalism. That part of the Marxian forecast has been modified even for Europe, by the Marxians themselves.

Middle Classes Have Not Disappeared

Secondly, the middle classes have increased tremendously and continue to play a very important role, if not in industrial production, at least in commerce and agriculture. There is no prospect of their becoming proletarians in the sense that Marx assumed. Even though the American middle classes are at the mercy of big business, they are needed in its machinery and kept at work in sufficient number to perform their role as middlemen and buffers in the class war.

## Output Gains Faster Than Wages

(From Labor, Washington, D. C.)

Arthur Huntington of the Iowa State Board of Education has gathered some astounding figures on the increase of productive capacity in the last generation.

One man, says Mr. Huntington, produces now 7 1/2 times as much lumber as he produced in 1896. He produces eight times as much coal, ten times as much iron, 40 times as many shoes, 52 times as much glass and 1,000 times as much paper now as he did then.

Have his wages been boosted to keep pace with this increased output? They have not. Even making

Working Class with Middle Class Psychology

Thirdly, a large portion of the skilled wage workers have become for all practical purposes a part of the middle class, adopting with middle class ways of living also the middle class mentality. These wage workers are gathered largely in the American Federation of Labor and in the Railroad Brotherhoods. They reject Socialist ideas of the class war and of socialization. They work along lines of gradual democratization and mutual agreements between employers and employees, even though big business often hits them hard through old party laws and courts.

Lack of Agricultural Concentration

The majority of the American farmers are working on mortgaged farms or as tenants of absentee landlords. But about 40 percent of the American farmers live on about the same level of middle class comfort as the best-paid wage-workers in the skilled occupations. Farming in the United States shows very few indications of becoming industrialized in large scale enterprises under capitalist management. The Marxian forecast in this respect has not been fulfilled in America. By the way, it has not been fulfilled in Europe, either. Small scale farming maintains itself in spite of capital concentration.

Lower Strata of Labor Not Improving

The majority of the unskilled workers and the mortgaged farmers and tenants live near or below the lowest level of subsistence. Neither the buying power of their wages nor their own purchasing power has seized the national life. While no reliable statistics on this subject exist, the old parties on principle prevent a statistical record of their management. It is universally admitted that the lowest strata of American life have not shared in the benefits of increased productivity.

For these lowest classes in the American economic scale, the Marxian forecast holds approximately true. They have fallen comparatively lower and lower while enormous wealth accumulated at the top of American society and some of it dribbled down into the middle strata of professionals, little business and skilled wage workers.

Lack Revolutionary Program

The unskilled wage workers and the mortgaged farmers and tenants should, under such circumstances, represent the most revolutionary section of American life. But they do not. They have no Socialist program, they are largely unorganized, they have only meager mental force to back up their demands for change. An intelligent social revolt against capitalism, or to start a strong movement for industrial and political democracy. As a whole these lowest strata represent the absolute majority of American voters, but they have so far always voted for the old parties if they voted at all. The highest vote cast by them and their friends against the old parties reached 3,000,000 for La Follette. Their total voting strength without the rural skilled workers, professional, industrial or agricultural crises. Any way, even Kautsky has dropped the idea that crises from overproduction must necessarily bring on a fatal collapse of capitalism. That part of the Marxian forecast has been modified even for Europe, by the Marxians themselves.

Reasons for Conservatism of American Masses

It has been explained that these lowest classes of American society are kept divided and unintelligent by the following main causes: (1) The training of the unskilled workers in the sectional antagonism between northern capitalism and southern feudalism; (2) the democratic traditions of the American revolution which deceive the people by giving them the shadow for the substance of democracy; (3) the influx of immigrants who, isolated from native American life, kept together in national colonies and prevent united political action of classes with identical economic interests; (4) the difficulty of reaching people who speak little or no English and who must be reached through their own

languages; (5) the control of the big news by the rich; (7) the control of the public schools and universities by the old party machines; (8) the enormous extent of the United States which perpetuates sectional differences in economics, politics and culture and thus enables the ruling minority to keep the people divided by unbridled manipulations; (9) the ingrained individualism of American life, which keeps the better paid wage workers, farmers and professionals snubbing their less favored class comrades; (10) the continued possibility of lifting the most energetic and intelligent members of the lower classes into the upper strata, thereby depriving the lower classes of revolutionary fire and leadership; (11) the preservation of a colored people which adds to the ability of the rich minority to keep the majority divided; (12) the failure of the American Federation of Labor to organize the unskilled, the migratory and the colored workers.

## The American Puzzle

All these and similar explanations amount in effect to the admission that the American mass mind is not reflecting the fundamental laws of economics which determine the abject condition of the wage working and farming majority. Rather is it dominated by mental complexes dating from past stages of American and European development, or by suggestions coming from the present ruling minority, while it remains unresponsive for Socialist teaching.

This brings us back to the old puzzle: How can people be hypnotized into believing things which flatly contradict their own experience and their own interests? This is essentially the same puzzle which we expressed previously in the question: Why don't all Marxians reflect the laws of economic revolution in the same way?

The American puzzle is still more paradoxical when we remember that the American wage workers and farmers have a historical tradition of revolutionary action. Again and again, American farmers revolted against feudal and capitalist rule. Again and again, American wage workers joined American farmers in state and national movements against capitalist rule. In fact, what there is of political democracy, public schools and other starts toward social life in the United States, is due mainly to these results which left some tangible good behind even though they faded and disappeared. Ideas today attributed to Marx were expressed and acted upon by American wage workers and farmers long before Marx began to think along such lines. Why, then, are the American classes that have the strongest reasons for changing the Socialist ideas today so backward?

The very concentration and centralization of finance and industry makes it possible to make a good start toward socialization by taking the Federal Reserve and branch banks out of private hands and through them supervise all other economic activities. This is feasible in the United States all the better, because American capitalism is the creditor of all others and can therefore set the pace for all others, also in socialization.

Why, cannot the American wage workers, farmers and professionals agree and concentrate on this step? Historical materialism alone, unaided by a science of thinking, cannot solve this puzzle, even if the Marxians admit that American capitalism is antagonistic to the economic forecast of Marx. The American puzzle can be solved only by adding to historical materialism a psycho-analysis of the American mind revealing the mental law which holds obstacles against popular unity. All leading Marxians have so far declined to study this puzzle from this angle, mainly because they have failed to familiarize themselves with the transformation of philosophy into a natural science of thinking and with the progress of applied psychology.

wages and the rise in profits. Fully nine-tenths of the patrons are wage earners. Will this kind of a process ever get the workers anywhere?

A very interesting recent news item says that the tenant farmers are playing a gradually increasing role in building up the cooperative marketing movement. In some of the northern states one-third of the members of selling cooperatives are tenant farmers and in buying cooperatives one-fourth are tenants. This means that the undermost dog in America is being forced into collective self-defense. The old, enduring, firmly rooted cooperatives of Europe were literally founded on the pennies of starving workers. Where individualism fails most completely collectivism takes firmest and surest root.

# Order WALLS AND BARS on This Blank

NATIONAL OFFICE, SOCIALIST PARTY, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed you will find \$..... for which send me..... copies of "Walls

and Bars," by Eugene V. Debs.

Name.....

Street.....

City..... State.....



# Municipal Electricity Succeeds in Los Angeles

## City-Owned System Cuts Price in Two, Gives Better Service and Produces Millions in Revenues

Harry W. Laidler

If public operation always a failure? This is the assumption of many good citizens who have been brought up on the propaganda of our daily newspapers and of the chatty leaflets from the telephone and electrical industries. When you get down to "cases," however, these victims of private corporation propaganda generally lose out. For there are many examples of successful public operation where the evidence of success is overwhelming. One of these cases is in the operation of the electrical plant by the municipality of Los Angeles.

Shortly after 1900, finding that Los Angeles was without a sufficient supply of water, citizens of the city decided to construct the now famous Owens River Aqueduct and bring the water from the mountain ranges 250 miles away. The city obtained from the federal government the right to the water and power needed by the proposed aqueduct. Construction began in 1900 and the aqueduct was completed six years thereafter.

From the intake in the mountains

to Los Angeles, the aqueduct, in its path through three mountain ranges, had a total fall of 3000 feet. It occurred to the citizens that this fall presented an exceptional opportunity for the generation of hydro-electric energy under municipal auspices, and the distribution of electrical energy to the people at cost. So in 1902, against the bitter opposition of private power interests, the Los Angeles public voted bonds looking toward the preliminary construction of hydro-electric plants and the utilization of the 100,000 horsepower available along the line of the aqueduct.

### Takes Over Whole System

Another contest between public and private interests followed over the question as to whether electrical energy generated at the public plant should be sold to the Southern Edison Company and retailed by them to the ultimate consumer or whether the city should distribute as well as generate it. The municipality, however, decided to try its hand at distribution and in it actually sold the power to the residents.

In 1919, the citizens went further

and voted a bond issue for the purchase of the Southern Edison Company's plant within the city limits. The matter was held up in the courts, but finally, in 1922, the city purchased the plant and since that time has been operating it as a public venture. It now supplies more than two-thirds of the electricity purchased by domestic consumers and over ninety per cent of the power used in the city's industries. At present the municipality is considering the purchase of the remaining private electric company in the city.

Municipal ownership in Los Angeles has led, directly and indirectly, to greatly reduced rates. Before public operation, in early 1910, the private companies were charging 9 cents per kilowatt hour for domestic lighting. Agitation for public ownership and the action of the Public Utilities Board forced several reductions.

### Big Price Cuts

When the city took over the Southern Edison Company's plant in 1922, the rates for domestic lighting were 9 cents per kilowatt hour. It immediately reduced

this rate to 5.6 cents, thus leading to a saving on the part of the consumer of \$600,000 a year. The remaining private company, in an attempt to meet these rates, also reduced their charges, thus making an additional saving of \$400,000.

In June, 1927, a revised schedule was adopted, on account of the increasing surplus arising from the 5.6 cents rate, and the domestic lighting rates were reduced from 5.6 to 5 cents. The combination of making heating and lighting rates also lowered from 4 cents to 2 cents per kilowatt hour.

In 1919, while the Los Angeles consumers were paying a 5.6 cents lighting rate, electrical consumers just outside the city limits were paying 7 cents for similar service. In 1920 the rates jumped to 9 cents, although in 1922, after the city had been forced by the State Railroad Board to 6.5 cents. The Bulletin of the Municipal League of Los Angeles maintains: "As a result of the Power Bureau's record of establishing and maintaining low electric rates in Los Angeles, since its inception, the electric consumers of this city actually

have paid \$22,300,000 less for their service than they would have paid had they been receiving service from the private power companies under the rates charged in the communities just outside the Los Angeles city limits." (See issue of August 31, 1927).

### Saves People Millions

The audit of the Bureau's books by Price, Waterhouse and Company indicated that, despite these low rates, the department had piled up a surplus of \$12,210,477.97 up to June 30, 1925, while the net income for the year ending June 30, 1926, after paying the costs of operation and maintenance, and setting aside an amount sufficient for depreciation and interest on bonds, amounted to \$2,796,152.86. (Professor Dykstra asserts that it would require about one-third of the surplus to pay taxes according to what a privately owned utility would pay with the same business.) Part of this surplus was being used for extension and improvement of the service and part for amortizing the debt of the city.

bureau to collect for service at the rates of the private companies in San Francisco, "the surplus of the bureau in excess of operation and maintenance, depreciation interest on bonds, and a deduction for the amount of taxes which a private corporation would pay, would equal \$3,200,000. In other words, if the power bureau operated under the conditions of a private corporation in the sense of paying taxes, and charged rates equal to costs including depreciation, interest and taxes, as well as operating expenses, consumers would save \$3,200,000. This refers to the consumers of the power bureau alone. The consumers of the Los Angeles Gas and Electric Corporation are saving in a corresponding amount because of the necessity of meeting the municipal rate.

"As compared with the average rate of large Eastern cities, the consumers of the power bureau alone would save between five and six million dollars per annum 'on the assumption of the power bureau's paying taxes along with the other charges' (National Municipal Review, October, 1925, italics ours).

### Public Ownership Superior

Professor Dykstra, as a result of the Los Angeles experience, concludes, among other things, that municipal ownership of light and power in large cities makes possible the establishment of projects far into the future which private capital cannot reasonably undertake. It means "simplicity of organization, elimination of stock-selling, propaganda and minimizing of general expenses. This is a more greater effectiveness of organization, with lower costs of construction and operation, and, because of the credit, less cost of money." It means, he continues, local control by the immediately interested in general, as well as local financial control. Finally it stimulates citizen interest in public affairs.

The case of Los Angeles should stimulate the advocates of public ownership in the fight between the great power interests and the people over the development of Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam—a fight which will continue this winter in our legislative halls.

## Farmers and Workers Discuss Remedies for Bad Conditions

### Why Not Take Over The Whole Works?

By D. M. Robertson

(Bemidji, Minnesota)

### Editor's Note

Undoubtedly, as Mr. Zachary points out in this article, taxation as it operates today is one of the big factors that is ruining the farmers. We commend for careful consideration his remedy—their remedy—public ownership of public utilities. If the public owned and operated all really public utilities it could produce from these revenues enough to run the government without taxes.

### A Tax Is Legalized Confiscation

James W. Zachary

(Goodwater Ranch, Winifred, Montana)

In the gold standard process of the nation much has been said against subsidizing the farmers and little or nothing said against penalizing them. Many farmers themselves do not seem to understand the way they are penalized into poverty.

Agriculture is wrecked by taxation and taxation exists in two different forms: Direct taxes and indirect taxes. A direct tax is a rate per cent levy made under the law against all chattels and real estate. This form of taxation always catches the farmer for a disproportionate share in government revenue because his values are chiefly tangible and impossible of concealment—the open prey of the tax collector.

Indirect taxes are wrunged from the farmers in the form of high interest rates for the use of cash and credit, high transportation charges and high middlemen merchant commissions on the commodities which farmers export or import for sale or use. In each case the commission and freight rates are added to the cost price and paid by the farmer who also through interest drawing mortgages furnishes the capital to the bank ledger credit paper is a strength of which the farmer does ninety five per cent of all his business.

The loss to farmers through indirect taxation is many times the loss of direct taxes. There would be no necessity for direct taxes upon anybody or anything, if the government owned the public utilities and the net proceeds from industries as paid by agriculture in pro rata part belonged to the county, state and national treasuries instead of fat bellied financial pirates.

There are three economic evils that cause the world-wide economic woe and spiritual degradation. They are Commodity Money, Private Usury, and Property Taxation. Their trail is a trail of grief, blood, plunder and war all down the ages of human history. They are wrong in principle, vicious in policy and war-breeding in practice. There will be none of them in the new-born age in which government revenues will be derived from the net profits on per se government owned public utilities.

Commodity money, whether gold silver or copper, is the doctrine of government price fixation of commodity value through means of certain mintage laws—laws which enable the holder of money bullion metal to say to any would be purchaser: "If you don't pay me the mintage price I will ship the metal to the mint, have it coined into dollars and then take the dollars into the market and buy what I want or pay my debts." Hence it is a fact that gold money, manufactured out of an almost worthless commodity, is the doctrine of special privilege zone to greed.

Private usury is a private "rake off" on a social product, which is a public utility. The wonder is that our super statesmen do not turn over to private banks the control and manipulation of the socialist postage stamp, so banks can take a private rake off on each stamp before it can accomplish the exchange of knowledge through letters, just as money and usury accomplishes the exchange of commodities through trading.

Taxation is legalized confiscation and our forebears who drew the tax boards and a social product, which is a public utility. The wonder is that our super statesmen do not turn over to private banks the control and manipulation of the socialist postage stamp, so banks can take a private rake off on each stamp before it can accomplish the exchange of knowledge through letters, just as money and usury accomplishes the exchange of commodities through trading.

Commodity money, private Usury and Property Taxation are the heart,

soul and life of the capitalistic system. The three evils together, and together they must die. In the name of the coronated Christ, they must die. Of this satanic trinity, property taxation is the worst because it is the food on which the other two devils thrive; though there is no revenue through the public ownership of public utilities. If the public owned and operated all really public utilities it could produce from these revenues enough to run the government without taxes.

I wish I knew the author of the following verse. He preaches my economic gospel better than I can myself and I hope that the printing press, the great iron preacher of this age, will broadcast this message all over the earth. I added myself the last 14 lines.

### Taxation

Tax the people, tax with care,  
Tax the farmer, tax his share,  
Tax the dog and tax his howl,  
Tax the hen and tax her egg,  
And let the bloomin' mullein beg,  
Tax the pig and tax his squeal,  
Tax his boots run down at the heel;  
Tax his horse and tax his lands,  
And be he wholsaled to the South,  
Tax his pig and tax his clothes,  
Tax the plow that wips his nose;  
Tax his house and tax his bed,  
Tax the bald spot on his head,  
Tax his "Honey," tax his gas,  
Tax the road where he may pass,  
Tax the cow and tax his grass,  
Tax his cow and tax his calf,  
Tax him if he dares to laugh,  
He is but a common man, so  
Tax his labor, but be discreet,  
Tax him for walking on the street,  
Tax his head and tax his seat,  
Tax the dog and tax his howl,  
Tax his payroll, tax the sale,  
Tax all his hard-earned paper kale;  
Tax his pipe and tax his smoke,  
Teach him government is no joke,  
Tax their coffins, tax their shrouds,  
Tax their souls beyond the clouds,  
Tax all business, tax the shops,  
Tax their income, tax their stocks;  
Tax the living, tax the dead,  
Tax the unborn before they are fed,  
Tax the water, tax the air,  
Tax the sunlight, if you dare,  
Tax them all and tax them well,  
Tax them to the very gates of hell!  
Then watch the cash gravitate,  
By the iron hand of fate,  
In terms of millions snug and neat,  
To storage vaults on Wall Street,  
Tax their souls beyond the clouds,  
Tax the coupon clipping tax free,  
Ho! for money, ho! for cash,  
Give the bonds a final slash,  
Be done with economic quacks,  
And pay the bonds with good greenbacks.  
For the volume of money fixes the price,  
And kills the debts sleek and nice;  
Proclaim the news from sea to sea,  
That plenty of cash makes farmers free.

### Editor's Note

After reading this second article by Ira D. Kneeland on the socialization of money, we find there is very little if any disagreement between this writer and the Appeal. Mr. Kneeland is probably right in his contention that the best and quickest way to Socialism is to socialize money first.

### Says Money Should Be Socialized First

Ira D. Kneeland

(Prather, California)

I see I shall have to explain myself farther.  
Your heading "Money Reform Versus Fundamental Socialism" is misleading. It gives the impression that I am advocating Money Reform in lieu of Fundamental Socialism, which is incorrect for I am flatfooted in favor of the Fundamental Socialism, and am just telling you that the very first step necessary to take is to socialize the money system.

Here!—A hot and iron has fallen off the ironing table and is scorching the carpet. Several people are debating how to pick it up. Seeing the danger, I advise to grab it by the handle to which they reply "Why grab the handle? It is not scorching the carpet, and if we pick it up and leave the rest of it there the scorching will continue. No, what we want is to raise the hot part, but it will burn us if we touch it." Now wouldn't you laugh?

Well, the money system is the handle to Fundamental Socialism and is the most proper part to grab for.

And then you say I am greatly mistaken. If I think the average Socialist editor does not understand the kind of money socialization I picture, well, what reason have I for thinking that they understand it when I have been a Socialist since before there was a Socialist party, and a member of the 17 party for fourteen years, and yet cannot recall that I ever saw a correct exposition of the money question in a Socialist paper or a Socialist Party Platform?

Then you say a "scientific currency" is impossible as long as we leave production and sale of goods in the hands of private owners, and you are quite right, that is my stand exactly. That is why I said that the government (or better said, the Commonwealth) should become a purchaser of raw materials and a manufacturer of finished goods, and that it would produce for use, not profit, and dispense at cost.

You surely cannot call that "heavy" the production and sale of goods in the hands of private owners." You leave your readers to infer that I am just wanting to pick up the handle and leave the sadiron on the carpet. You ask "How could a government with only a medium of exchange theoretically socialized and confronting all the means of employment and wealth production and daily sustenance in the hands of private interests, employ and manufacture all the things that we need, merely building homes and public works?"

Well it could not, and it is not I who am advocating any such plan, what I said was that the government should go into business, buy raw materials and manufacture all the necessities of life, and when I said all I meant it, all in number, but not necessarily all in quantity for if any private producer can produce as good an article as the Commonwealth is producing, and sell it as cheap, or at any price that will be needed, let him go to it. It will make my meaning any plainer I will say that the government, that is the Commonwealth, should consider employment as a public function and give employment to every one who applies for it. We have plenty of work, and the natural resources, on which to expend the labor of all our millions of workers producing the necessities, comforts and luxuries of life. I call this Fundamental Socialism but it is only attainable by a socialized medium of exchange.

Now to point out the specific difference between socializing the money first or leaving it for the last. There is for instance, the Boulder Canyon Dam project, which may come up in our next session of congress, and there will be a big fight to see if the government or private interests build it. The Swing Johnson bill provided for the government doing it, but with an issue of interest bearing bonds. That is, the basic thing, the dam, was to be socialized, but not the money to finance it! The sad iron was to be picked up leaving the handle on the floor.

Well, go on. Socialize everything the same way. All power projects, railroads, bus, coal mines, everything, issuing bonds to finance them all—see where you bring up at the end. Some time we would have all the utilities and machinery of production and the capitalists would have got every thing you ever asked for. Now dry up your yaps, don't let us hear any more out of you, and don't you dare default in paying us the interest on our bonds!

Now my way, socialize the currency first, build the Boulder dam with it. Make it a legal tender and receivable for any debt or due to the government. Do the same with any and all projects as fast as we can get to them. Pay all existing bond issues as fast as they become due (in gold if gold is already specified,) but, if we have no more bonds for any purpose whatever. Then in course of time we will own everything as in the first instance, public utilities, basic industries, machinery of production and distribution of all necessities of life.

The Cooperative Commonwealth will be in full swing and owing not a dollar.  
By this method we may realize our hopes within a reasonable length of time. By the other it may be doubted if we ever do, as during all the years in which we would be acquiring the industries and issuing those bonds, the bondholders would be plotting our downfall.

Tolley Hartwick in his "million, billion, trillion etc." article gave but a small part of the cent story of the cent loaned by Christ at his birth semiannually compounded at 6 per cent to 1900. This article, published in the communist paper called the Masses or New York, and I remember right in both about twenty years ago, continued where Tolley left off by saying that the dollar was but a small yard stick to express the plan. So the author stated that by the year 1900 we took the size of the earth and that by 1900 the interest on the cent was so great that if we placed units of gold cents one touching the other in an elliptic such as the earth makes around the sun every year it would take a string of earth sized beads so long that following the earth's orbit around the sun it would make about three and a half circles.

The master owns the industries. He hires the worker. The worker works at the industries. He produces the commodity. The master takes the industry takes the total product. He pays as compensation to the worker in money sufficient to buy back about 17 percent of the production of the worker. That leaves about 83 percent on the master's hands. The master is much in the minority so he cannot well use for his personal need more than 17 percent. That leaves the master about 65 percent of the product on his hands as the worker cannot buy more than 17 percent. The master's struggle is to increase his power the worker is awarded his product. The master in other ways spends some of the 65 percent but even then he has about a 40 percent surplus. This 40 percent surplus is what creates all the trouble in the world because the continuance of capitalist production is dependent on getting rid of the 40 percent surplus. The master has in every way sought to overcome this trouble but he is continually failing. In his need for competition he has sought to conquer markets for the 40 percent but his conquest of the foreign market has had a big surplus on his hands. The master has no manufacturing unless he can sell.

Each nation has a surplus. The field of competition is so great that it practically covers all the industries in all foreign countries. This was the cause of the world war of 1914 and will be the cause of the next war. Master class private ownership of the natural resources and instruments of production, distribution and communication represents a considerable share of our debts and liabilities. What chance has the world got now? Our fathers mortgaged our inheritance and we are sorry trying to mortgage the inheritance of our children. How can we mortgage that which we have not? How long can we mortgage that which we cannot pay except by bankruptcy? The question then is will we, like the races preceding, assist in our own destruction or will we take over the instruments of production, distribution and communication and produce for ourselves—not for a small part—not for profit—not for rent—not for power, but for shelter, clothing, warmth and for the comfort of mankind. Then if we have a surplus we may rest instead of looking for a job or carrying on a war to get rid of it. The various armies, political reformers, religious reformers, moralists, socialized statesmen will see that what concerns us most at this time is food, clothing and shelter and material happiness and if then there are still inequities or injustices and if mankind does not then live according to the laws of the supposed Great Teacher of Nazareth, we may again reorganize spiritually.

The feeble minded and epileptic in the United States public institutions increased from 47 per 100,000 to 54.7 per 100,000 from 1923 to 1927, according to the U. S. Bureau of Census. Department of Commerce. This increase is disquieting. The increasing struggle for existence and the increasingly corrupt and bad conditions that surround this struggle in America are responsible for the fundamental breakdown of the victims. Greed is the cause of this. It is an indictment against the present system at least as damning as growing crime and growing suicide.

One of the most significant developments of the day is the widening of the gap between production and consumption. Production has definitely outrun consumption and that we are up against the difficult problem of either holding production down to the limited purchasing power of the people, or of having the system swamped and destroyed by a rising surplus of unsaleable goods.

This awakening is taking place now for the first time among conservative big business circles and among the progressive trade unions. Unsaleable facts are at last having a telling effect. Truths about overproduction in relation to our present underconsumption, which have been stated by Socialists for more than a generation, and for which the Socialists were ridiculed, are now admitted by Wall Street and by American Federation of Labor officials. Big business is proposing increasing control of production so as to keep production down to the present purchasing power of the wage workers and farmers. Conservative organized labor is pointing out, with truth, that this cannot be done without causing a distressing and dangerous amount of unemployment. The birth of this issue in these two camps is of great significance. They are now discussing the fundamental defect of capitalism. It is a defect that cannot be remedied under capitalism. The only remedy is the whole product of the actual producers or workers—and that is a new system: Socialism.

The new struggle over the issue between American big business and American organized labor is bound to have a vast educational effect. It is bound to change the whole attitude of organized labor in America. It is bound to lead to enlightenment and big political development on the part of the workers. To illustrate the importance of this growing issue we herewith reprint the leading article from the current News Service sheet of the American Federation of Labor. It is entitled: "Unemployment Must Go." The author is Walter C. Foster. The author is Walter C. Foster. The author is Walter C. Foster.

The market is flooded with books on the industrial question. This indicates a growing interest in the public, as well as an increase of those who would solve the tangled dispute between wage workers and the owners of capital, who are referred to as "capital and labor."

These authors include the rocking chair type. One of this genre, in discussing strike losses, says: "The amount of industrial friction resulting from the present methods of wage adjustments becomes apparent when the severe loss of business is considered. To give a single instance, the hard-core strike of 1925 in America cost a loss of wages for 158,000 workers for 165 days, a total of well over \$100,000,000, while the loss of profits to the mine operators was probably the same amount."

The author has no solution, but he stoutly—and safely—demands that "something should be done." His awesome figures are based on the supposition that when no strike exists in the anthracite fields, coal miners work six days a week, 52 weeks a year.

It would be nearer the mark to say these miners are always idle 165 days a year through an overdeveloped industry, lack of markets for coal, lack of cars, and other causes over which they have no control.

At the present time anthracite miners have a contract with coal owners, but unemployment is widespread in the hard-core sections of Pennsylvania. This is unnoticed by industrial "experts" who write books. In the soft-coal districts, coal miners generally lose as much time annually as they have lost since April 1, this year, when their present strike started.

These temporary shutdowns and group lay-offs are never referred to, though the United Mine Workers of America constantly call attention to the wretched condition of this industry. When miners resist a wage reduction and are compelled to strike, the "experts" call attention to the "loss of wages," though this loss is the inevitable rule if no strike exists. What is true of mining is true of practically every other industry. No hard industry operates 100 per cent during the year.

## Organized Labor and Capital Now See The Surplus Problem

The Wall Street Journal made this acknowledgment in its September 1, 1927, issue:

"IF PRODUCTION IS KEPT WITHIN THE LIMITS OF CONSUMPTION there will be no need of big cuts and no wages cuts. The country today can turn out more steel, more coal, more copper, more oil, more automobiles, etc., than the demand calls for."

"IF ALL THESE INDUSTRIES PERMITTED CAPACITY

OPERATION, PROSPERITY COULD BE SHOT OFF THE financial official recommends employment cutbacks—that greater evils may not result. The Wall Street Journal thus acknowledges that no basic industry dare operate full time. That was two years ago when business was considered at its after-the-war peak, and at the same time that the anthracite miners' strike, referred to above, was on.

Capitalist Writer Sees End of System

(The following article appeared in a recent issue of The Chicago Tribune. The writer, Harlan Leach, is the Tribune's official spokesman and defender of the capitalist system. In this article Mr. Leach makes some very significant admissions about defects in the capitalist system—how it is ending competition and opportunity and why it may come to an end itself.)

In one of the brief periods in which he figured as a scientist and thinker—periods never quoted by his disciples of today, who never him as a social with a doctor or high priest of the criminal cult of direct action (thuggee)—Karl Marx said no social order ever came to an end until its productivity was exhausted.

Evidently then capitalist civilization has many centuries ahead of it, and the human species, if it can dance and mobility, which differentiate the machine age from its predecessors. But in the end it will confront the old dilemma, unless through the development of a genuine science of controlling the evolution of the human species, it can solve the hitherto insoluble riddle. We are far from that, we have not even solved our racial past, much less our present and future.

The success or failure of capitalism is a question of how far our civilization will be able to race to its economic life the Darwinian principles of struggle, survival, and selection. The energies of capitalism derive from its free for all fight for wealth.

However, however, wealth is accumulated, there is a race to win a static form of society which eliminates or minimizes competition. Already competition between business units has been to some extent superseded by competition within corporations for managerial position. So far, so good—but the next step might be a self-perpetuating guild of management laying little stress on competitive selection.

The privilege of passing wealth by inheritance is and has been a great stimulant to the competitive race for wealth and power which energizes capitalist societies. Abolish it and you destroy powerful incentives.

On the other hand, a cumulative massing of inherited wealth may erect a choke society into immobile castes. Such things have happened. The success of capitalism, which inevitably results in the formation of great corporations and of safely inherited wealth, is a threat to the continued vitality of the system, unless great care is taken to keep open the channel of opportunity.

Socialist Heads World Cooperatives

By Adolph Salmi

Vainio Tanner, premier and acting president of Finland, has ascended another presidential throne. He was elected president of the International League of Cooperative Societies at its congress of the cooperatives in Stockholm, Sweden, this summer, according to Scandinavian news dispatches.

Prior to his elevation to this important position as head of cooperatives in practically every civilized country, Premier Tanner, became acting president of Finland on account of the sickness of Finland's president, Relander. Thus we have an example of a cooperative who is president and premier of a country and president of one of the most important international organizations in the world at the same time.

Finnish dailies are discussing the possibility of the Socialists continuing to retain undivided control of the cabinet. There are hints that the Socialists may divide

the cabinet offices with the Agrarians, the second strongest party in Finland. The Socialists hold 52 seats while the Agrarians hold 52. It is believed that if the Swedish and Communist parties continue to support the Socialists the cabinet will remain purely Socialist, as now.

### The Money Trust

The money trust is gobbling up the country at a truly alarming rate. It now has fifty-five billion dollar deposits.

Since 1919 capital surplus and undivided profits of national banks, according to the compressed figures, increased \$54,000,000, while deposits gained \$1,525,000,000 and resources \$4,891,000,000. Since June 1, 1925, state banks have decreased 1,431 in number and national banks have increased by three.

State banks on March 23, 1927, latest date on which comparative figures are available, numbered 1,431, while national banks numbered 1,434. As of that date capital surplus and undivided profits of state banks amounted to \$1,547,000,000, deposits \$1,562,000,000, and total resources \$4,046,000,000. Capital surplus and undivided profits of national banks amounted to \$54,000,000, deposits \$1,525,000,000, and total resources \$4,891,000,000.

Between April 12, 1926, and March 23, 1927, these figures had increased by \$458,948,000 in deposits in state banks and \$736,411,000 in deposits in national banks. Resources of state banks rose \$940,873,000 and the national banks \$805,482,000. On March 23, 1927, to June 30, resources of national banks advanced \$21,311,000 to \$2,581,313,000. Combined resources of both state and national banking institutions have increased nearly \$20,000,000 since 1919. In the same period deposits have risen \$7,516,000,000 and the capital \$2,504,000,000. Combined deposits of state and national banks increased \$1,182,000,000 in last year, while resources gained \$46,000,000. Total deposits of classes of banks aggregated \$3,537,000,000, while total resources mounted up to about \$66,000,000,000.

It should not be forgotten that these huge sums take no account of the sums deposited in private banks or the resources of such institutions or of the millions saved and hoarded through the medium of life insurance and loan associations. Nor do they consider the huge amounts invested in stocks and bonds during the last year. New Financier has placed at a rate approximately \$600,000,000 a month.

One of the first things that the sheer self-defense will have to nationalize is the money trust. That it will be comparatively easy to nationalize, everything else that is public in its nature.

To the mass of the people money is so costly as thought. That is, taking the world over, 99 out of a hundred accept the position which they occupy in their mental attitude towards the large. Nearly all of them put mechanically the routine to which they have been accustomed, and not only blind to its defects, but not recognize them as defects when they are pointed out.

—Herbert Spencer